

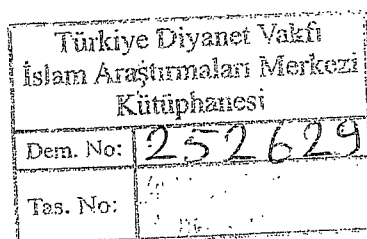
The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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ENEMIES WITHIN: NETWORKS OF INFLUENCE AND THE MILITARY
REVOLTS AGAINST THE OTTOMAN POWER (MOLDAVIA AND
WALLACHIA, SIXTEENTH-SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES)*

Radu G. Păun

In 1590, the Venetian *bailo* Giovanni Moro wrote about the Ottoman tributary principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania in these terms:

These provinces are extremely rich in all sort of goods and they are well peopled, and their princes, who are Christians, would maybe make one day some useful service to Christendom, in order to free themselves from the tyranny of the Turks, since they have, besides their own forces—which could be considerable if unified—those of the Roman Emperor, of the king of Poland, and of the Muscovite ruler, who are, all of them, very powerful and enemies of the Ottomans.¹

The most substantial problem, in Moro's view, seemed to be the "rude nature" of the Orthodox Christians; but even so, he did not rule out the possibility that a general revolt against the Porte would finally happen, if some exceptional leader (*capo*) were to appear, one who was able to

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¹ "Sono quelle province abbondantissime di ogni sorte di viveri e ben popolate, e i loro principi, che sono cristiani, per liberarsi dalle continue tirannie de'turchi, potranno un giorno apportar qualche notabil servizio alla cristianità, avendo, oltre le proprie forze, che unite sariano molto considerabile, la forza dell'Imperatore, del Polono e del Moscovita, principi molto potenti e nemici della grandezza ottomana." In Moro's view, Moldavia "può mettere insieme 9,000 archibusieri a piedi e più di 25,000 uomini a cavallo armati secondo l'uso della cavalleria turchesca," while Wallachia: "può valersi di mille buoni archibusieri a piedi e di dieci mila uomini a cavallo," in such a way that, united with Transylvanian forces, whose number would reach "fino a 50,000 uomini a cavallo e 10,000 a piè," it would result in a considerable army of "85,000 cavalli e 20,000 pedoni." Eugenio Alberi, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, series 3, vol. 3 (Florence, 1855) [henceforth, *Alberi III*], 346.

203-252

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SÖZLÜK SÖZLÜK DOKÜMAN

The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Interpretations and
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Taking Possession of Wallachia: Facts and Interpretations

ANDREI PIPPIDI

The present interest in the first stages and consequences of Ottoman expansion in South-Eastern Europe justifies closer consideration of both the impact of conquest in Wallachia and the various interpretations that historiography attempted when investigating the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the first part of this paper I will present the factual evidence as we can summon it presently, leaving for the second part to explain why past interpretations varied so much according to the position of each historian. Within a century of their emergence, the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were compelled to find means to prevent the almost continuous Ottoman offensive from coming closer to the Danube and even to secure their very existence as states. In spite of the permanent competition between Hungary and Poland, two neighbours always eager to acquire Moldavia – and possibly Wallachia too – these principalities succeeded where the Transdanubian Slavic states had failed to: they were able to offer resistance, either passive or active, ultimately achieving what might be called an autonomous existence. Meanwhile, their proximity made it necessary for Moldavia to win back land from Wallachia, to subdue or, at least, to firmly control the twin Romanian state. Nonetheless, as it turned out, it took three and a half centuries until their unification was peacefully realized, while the dependence on the Ottoman Empire lasted, in a weakened form, until the treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji, when suzerainty was practically shared with Russia, but it persisted up to the 1877 war and the Berlin Congress.

By the early fifteenth century, the territory ruled by the prince of Wallachia contained only 14 market towns and 70 villages, if we limit our reckoning to the names mentioned in contemporary documents.¹ An even larger figure is justified for the period between 1352 and 1500: records provide 514 names of rural and urban sites.² Modern-day estimates tend to maximize the numbers,

¹ Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, "Așezări omenești în Țara Românească pînă la 1418," *Arhiva Românească* 7 (1941): pp. 89–110.

² Ion Donat, "Așezările omenești din Țara Românească în secolele XIV–XVI," *Studii*, 9 (1956): pp. 75–95, pp. 76–77. In 1445, a Western witness saw Wallachia as a "grant et spacieux pays,

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الأفلاق والبغدان في العصر العثماني

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اهتم الباحث بكتابة بحث منفصل عن ولايتي الأفلاق والبغدان، بعد أن قام بالمشاركة في إصدار كتاب خاص بتاريخ الحروب العثمانية - الروسية مع أ.د / رافت غنيمي الشبخ. ولذلك فقد لمس الباحث مدى أهمية تاريخ الولايتين، ومع توافر المادة العلمية، فلا يوجد أي دراسة حسب ما وصل إليه، تخص تاريخ العلاقات العثمانية بالأفلاق والبغدان، لهذا فقد أدرك ومنذ البداية، أنه لابد من كتابة دراسة تخص تلك العلاقات لتكون صفحة من صفحات التاريخ العثماني وتاريخ الولايتين.

والجدير بالذكر أن الدولة العثمانية قد أدارت تلك الولايات بشيء من الحكمة، كما فعلت في ولاية مصر المحروسة؛ حيث تركت إدارة الولايات في البداية بيد الأمراء المحليين، وتركتها في مصر للمماليك؛ لأنهم كانوا أعلم بإدارة شؤون الأقاليم، ومن جهة أخرى سحبت أمور الحكم من الأمراء ونبلاء تلك الولايات ووضعتها في يد تجار ومترجمين من اليونانيين من سكان حي الفنار بإستانبول، وهذا يوضح ثقة الدولة في هؤلاء اليونانيين طوال القرن 18م. حتى تبدل الحال، وبخاصة بعد زيادة التدخل الروسي والنمساوي داخل الولايات، وإعادة حكم

وعلى أية حال، فقد بادر السلاطين العثمانيون الأوائل لفرض السيطرة العثمانية على بلاد البلقان (أوروبا الشرقية)، وبخاصة بلاد المجر والبلغار وبلاد الأفلاق والبغدان، لإحكام السيطرة على البحر الأسود، وفرض الجزية السنوية لإنعاش الخزانة العامة؛ لتجهيز الجيش للفتوحات العثمانية، وما يؤخذ على الدولة هو فرض التبعية فقط دون محاولة نشر الدين الإسلامي في تلك البلاد، مما جعلها أرضاً خصبة لروسيا والنمسا لمحاولة إبقاء تلك الولايات تحت تأثيرها الديني والعربي السلفي لها.

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التي به مضيقه السكنى، وذلك على يد الفقيه العلامة الوزير الجليل سيدي فضول غريط، وعين كاتيه عبد الكبير بن هاشم الكتاني، وتوجه لما ذكر مع شرطي الباشا الأرضي القايد أحمد أمالك، وهو الطالب السيد عبد الله بن عمر الشبيطي، فبعد ذلك على نحو ما يذكر أسفله، وقيد في ربيع 6 ربيع الثاني عام 1308هـ. خالد بن الصغير، وثيقة غير منشورة، ص. 34.

- 65. خالد بن الصغير، وثيقة غير منشورة، ص. 69.
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CUSTOM IN THE 16th—18th CENTURIES OTTOMAN-
ROMANIAN RELATIONSHIP
(STARTING POINTS FOR A HISTORIO-
GRAPHICAL DEBATE)

VIOREL PANAITE

In 1656, the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa wrote to the Wallachian nobles in the following words: "You are the tributary *reaya* of the sultan; as long as you show obedience and allegiance, no viziers and no beys will be permitted to treat you as rebels and they are not allowed to ask you anything contrary to custom"¹. In these terms Köprülü Mehmed Paşa was impressing upon the voivode of Wallachia, Constantin Şerban (1654—1658) the necessity of paying homage to the sultan. Before anything else, our attention had been drawn by the fact that the grand vizier invokes no "treaty" (*ahdname*) but a "usage" established between the Wallachian voivodes and the Ottoman sultans, in support of his order.

This is not the only document which appeals to "usage" as the main reason for observing the rights and the duties between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the question arises whether custom, one of the formal sources of the international law², was equally to be found as a legal source in the Ottoman-Romanian relations.

Until now one can say that both historians and jurists have dealt only with the Ottoman-Romanian "treaties"³ and completely ignored the problem of the presence or absence of custom in the relations between the Romanian Countries and the Ottoman Empire. Considering the great amount of documentary information, especially from the 16th—18th century Ottoman sources, we attempted to look at this subject, despite its slippery and complicated nature.

These pages are written with the hope of stimulating a historiographical debate, no matter how much they might be disputed. Such a debate may be more useful for clarifying a topic, than would be ignoring it altogether.

¹ Tayyib M. Gökbilgin, *La structure des relations turco-roumaines et des raisons de certains hüküms, ferman, berat et des ordres des sultans adressés aux princes de la Moldavie et de la Valachie au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in "Belleten", XLII, no. 165—168, Ankara, 1978, p. 772.

² On custom, see Grégoire Gianni, *La coutume en droit international*, Paris, 1931; Charles Rousseau, *Principes généraux du Droit international public. Tome I: Introduction, Sources*, Paris, 1944, p. 824—862; J. L. Brierly, *The Law of Nations. An Introduction to the International Law of Peace*, sixth edition, Oxford, 1963, p. 59—62; Michel Virally, *The Sources of International Law*, in *Manual of Public International Law*, edited by Max Sørensen, London, Melbourne, Toronto, New York, p. 116—175.

³ On the Ottoman-Romanian "treaties", see N. Beldiceanu, *Problema tratatelor Moldovei cu Poarta în lumina cronicii lui Pecevi*, in "Balcania", V, no. 1/1942, p. 393—408; Ştefan

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POWER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.
SULTANS AND THE TRIBUTE PAYING PRINCES OF WALLACHIA
AND MOLDAVIA (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)

VIOREL PANAITTE

Süleyman the Magnificent's epoch and new legal sovereignty. In the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, important changes took place in the power relationship in Southeastern and Central Europe, as the Ottoman Empire reached the zenith of its power¹. In 1521, at the beginning of Süleyman the Magnificent's reign, the Ottomans captured the Hungarian city of Belgrade, and five years later, in 1526, the sultan again invaded Hungary and defeated its army at the battle of Mohács. Süleyman I returned to Hungary in 1529 as the supporter of John I Zápolya against the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and after occupation of Buda on 8 September 1529, he drove back the Ferdinand's army into Vienna, having unsuccessfully attempted to besiege the capital of Austria between 26 September–16 October 1529. Due to Polish claims and Habsburgs attacks, at the end of forties, Süleyman Kanunî decided to set definitively the Ottoman control over the territories from the North of the Danube. First, he accomplished this plan by the personal expedition of 1538 against the voivode Petru Rareș of Moldavia, bringing this country under a strict control. In Central Europe, on the pretext of protecting John Sigismund Zápolya's interests – contested by Ferdinand I –, Süleyman the Magnificent then again invaded Hungary in 1541, occupying Buda and incorporating all of central Hungary in his empire. Also, at the same time he transformed Transylvania in a tributary principality, where as a matter of fact John's rule was largely confined to².

¹ For the Süleyman Kanunî's reign, see: *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, Paris, 1993; *Süleyman the Second and his Time*, edited by Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1993; *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age. The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*. Edited by Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, London and New York, 1995; Gilles Veinstein, "Süleyman I," EI-2, IX, 868-78.

² For details, see: Berindei, Veinstein, *Documents*, 17-46; P. Fodor, *Ottoman Policy towards Hungary, 1520–1541*. AOH, XLV (2–3), 1991, 271–345; Cristina Feneșan, *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, București, 1997. R. Constantinescu, *Moldova și Transilvania în vremea lui Petru Rareș. Relații politice și militare (1527–1546)*, București, 1978; Ștefana Simionescu, *Țările române și începutul politicii răsăritene antiotomane a Imperiului habsburgic (1526–1594)*. RdI, 28, 8. 1975, 1197–214; Ștefana Simionescu, *Les relations de la Moldavie avec les Habsbourg pendant le règne de Petru Rareș (1527–1538; 1541–1546)*. RRH, XVI, 3, 1977, 463–75.

the city, including transport. The Indian-Senegalese joint venture that introduced Tata buses in Dakar may reduce the pollution from older *transports publics* but should also have a knock-on effect on the employment generated by the Murid-run transport system. Given the drive towards urbanisation, such infrastructural and logistical problems need urgent attention. The famous Senegalese *teranga* (Wolof, hospitality) and resourcefulness hold the keys to the future of Dakar, but a little help from the government could make the future even brighter. 29 Eylül 2015

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The Danubian Principalities

The Danubian Principalities is a term conventionally used to designate the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, situated between the Carpathians, the Danube river, the Black Sea and the Dniester river, which were founded in the first part of the eighth/fourteenth century. The name was coined in the European diplomatic milieu of the second part of the twelfth/eighteenth century. In Ottoman documents after 1188/1774, the two principalities are frequently referred to as Eflak ve Boğdan *voynodalıkları* (Eflâq ve Boghdân *voynodalıkları*, the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia), or *memleketeyn* (the Two countries).

According to the Islamic-Ottoman juridical view, from the late eighth/fourteenth to the mid-tenth/-sixteenth century, Wallachia and Moldavia were in the *dar al-harb* (Abode of War). Consequently, they were territories to conquer, bring under the sultan's authority, and incorporate into the *dar al-Islām* (Abode of Islam). To achieve this aim, extensive military campaigns (sing. *gaza/ghazā*, pl. *gazavat/ghazavāt*) were organized under the direct command of the sultans, and *akıncı* (*aqıncı*, light cavalry used for raiding) raids were frequently launched to support, contain, or punish certain local princes.

Nicolas Vatin, *Note sur l'entrée d'Alger sous la souveraineté ottomane (1519-1521)*

Cet article est fondé sur la comparaison de trois sources connues mais jamais croisées : les *Gazavât-ı Hayre-d-dîn Paşa*, la « lettre de la population algéroise » publiée par A. Temimi et les *Diarii* de Marino Sanudo. Il en ressort que Hayre-d-dîn a tenté un an durant de demeurer indépendant à Alger après la mort de son frère Oruç et que c'est la préparation de l'expédition d'Ugo de Moncada (qui attaqua finalement Djerba et non Alger) qui dut le convaincre de se tourner vers la Porte, avec le soutien de pouvoirs locaux, notamment le « roi de Koukou » Ibn el-Kadi qui, à cette date, n'avait pas encore fait sécession. D'autre part on constate une certaine méfiance du gouvernement ottoman : Selim I^{er} envoie un représentant sur place pour en savoir plus avant de se décider. Cette mission étant retardée par un incident avec la flotte vénitienne, c'est finalement Soliman qui accepta la soumission de Hayre-d-dîn. Mais rien ne permet de confirmer l'affirmation généralement admise (fondée sur Haëdo) que Selim I^{er} envoya d'importants renforts. En fait ni lui ni Soliman ne semblent, en 1520-1521, très intéressés.

Nicolas Vatin, *Note on the Falling of Algiers under Ottoman Sovereignty (1519-1521)*

This paper is based on three sources that are all well known but have never been used together : the *Gazavât-ı Hayre-d-dîn Paşa*, the « letter from the people of Algiers » published by A. Temimi, and Marino Sanudo's *Diarii*. It shows that Hayre-d-dîn tried for a whole year to remain independent in Algiers after the death of his brother Oruç, and that it is probably because of an expedition in preparation by Ugo de Moncada (who eventually attacked Djerba and not Algiers) that he decided to turn to the Porte, with the support of local powers, in particular the « King of Kuku », who had not rebelled yet. Apparently, the Ottoman government was a bit doubtful : Selim Ist sent a man to see the situation on the spot, wanting to know more before taking a decision. An incident with the Venetian fleet delayed the mission, with the result that it was Süleyman who decided to accept Hayre-d-dîn's proposal. But although it has been widely accepted (actually on the basis of Haëdo) that Selim sent important reinforcements, nothing in the documentation seems to confirm it. Actually neither Selim nor Süleyman was really interested by Algiers in 1520-1521.



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Selim II 180707

moldava 133352

Eflak 050578

UNE CONSÉQUENCE INATTENDUE
DE LA POLITIQUE FISCALE
DU SULTAN SELIM II :
DE L'ORIGINE DE LA DEDICACE
AUX AUTORITÉS ATHONITES
DES COUVENTS DE VALACHIE
ET DE MOLDAVIE

23 Mars 2015
MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Lorsqu'en 1566, le sultan Selim II succède à son père Soliman Kanûnî, l'État ottoman, dans sa partie européenne, est en pleine réforme fiscale et territoriale¹. Un nouveau recensement dans la région de Skopje et de Thessalonique est mis en place, notamment sur l'impulsion du *seyhülislam*, autorité suprême de l'Empire sur la Sainte-Loi, Ebu's-su-ud², en fonction entre 1545 et 1574, année de sa mort.

Guillaume Durand, boursier de l'Academia Română, chercheur post-doctorant, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 190-198 avenue de France, F-75244 Paris Cedex 13.
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² Imber, *Ebu's su'ud*.

**Romanya Ahkam Defteri'ne (nr. 77/1) göre
XVIII. yy. ikinci yarısında Osmanlı-Eflak ilişkileri¹**

03 Mayıs 2014

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Öğr. Görv. Dr. Məsut Aydınər



İslam Öncesinden Çağdaş Türk Dünyasına

Prof. Dr. Gülçin Çandarlıoğlu'na
Armağan

Editorlar
Doç. Dr. HAYRÜNNİSA ALAN Doç. Dr. ABDEVAHAP KARA
Doç. Dr. OSMAN YÖRÜKMAZ

SAV

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DOĞUKÜTÜPHANESİ

Bu çalışmada Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Düvel-i Ecnebiye fonunda bulunan 77/1 numaralı Romanya Ahkam Defteri'ne göre XVIII. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı-Eflak ilişkilerinden bazı kesitler sunulacaktır. Makalede özellikle Eflak'ın Osmanlı devleti için önemi, gayr-i müslim reâya ile Osmanlı idarecileri ve özellikle cizyedarlar arasındaki ilişkiler, tayin edilen voyvodalar ile ilgili bazı detaylar, bölgenin ticarî faaliyetleri, ithal ve ihrac ettiği maddeler, Tuna Nehri civarındaki ahalinin durumu gibi konularda ilgili ahkam defterinden seçilen önemli hükümlere yer verilecek ve bölgede meydana gelen olaylarla ilgili bazı ayrıntılar üzerinde durulacaktır. Konunun disiplinler arası ve karşılaştırmalı çalışmalara önem veren son dönem tarih anlayışına ve "Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mirası" hakkındaki çalışmalara katkıda bulunacağına inanılmaktadır. İşlenen ana başlıklar ve ele alınan arşiv belgeleri bölgeye dair sosyal, siyasal, ekonomik, hukuk, kurumlar, zihniyet ve benzeri alanlarda yapılacak çalışmaları ilgilendirebileceği düşünülmüş ve seçilmiştir. Defter ilk olarak Eflak Defteri adıyla İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'nın dikkatini çekmiş ve onun Osmanlı Tarihi'nin dördüncü cildinin bölge ile ilgili bölümlerinde kullanılmış, daha sonra Mihail Guboğlu'nun VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi'ne sunduğu "Romanya Tarihi'ne ait Türk Kaynakları" bildirisinde genel olarak zikredilmiş ancak detay verilmemiş², defterden birkaç hüküm ise bilinebildiği kadarıyla ilk defa Cengiz Orhonlu'nun bir bildiri-makalesinde kullanılmıştır³. Başından sonuna XVIII. Yüzyılda meydana gelen Osmanlı-Rus ve Avusturya harpleri sebebiyle ayrı bir önem kazanan bölge hakkında dikkate değer ayrıntılı hükümler içeren bu defterler serisi üzerinde yapılacak çalışmalar, şüphesiz ilgili döneme ait karanlık noktaları aydınlatabilecek niteliktedir. Birinci elden kaynak niteliğindeki bu defterler, gerek Eflak gerekse Boğdan ve çevrelerine ait muhtelif malumat ile dolu olup, sadece askerî ve siyâsî bakımdan değil sosyo-ekonomik açıdan da birçok meseleye tüm teferruatıyla açıklık getirmektedir⁴.

¹ Daha geniş bir araştırmanın ilk meyvesi halindeki bu çalışma anne tarafından Romanya muhaciri sayılabilecek olan hocam Prof. Dr. Gülçin Çandarlıoğlu anı kitabı için hazırlanmıştır.

² Guboğlu'nun, metinde adı geçen makalesi için bkz. VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Bildiriler, II, Ankara 1973, s. 501

³ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Ahmed Resmî Efendi'nin Eflak Coğrafyası" *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, sy. 4-5 (1975/76), s. 1-14

⁴ Düvel-i Ecnebiyye fonunda bulunan h. 1142-1324 (1729-1906) yıllarına ait Romanya yahut Eflak-Boğdan defterleri kastedilmektedir.

Eflâk

Halîmî, el-Minhâc, c. 2, 231

297.45
HALİM

Ahmed Resmi Efendi'nin
Eflak Coğrafyası

Ceyin Ochoalı —

İ.Ü. EF. GÜNEY-DOĞU AVRUPA ARAŞTIRMALARI
DERGİSİ - 9-5

1975-76 - S. 1-14

EFLAK

MADDE FAZLASI İNDİRİLMİŞ
00000

NASTASE, Dumitru. Domnul Țării Românești
Vladislav II și asediul din 1453 al Constantinopolului.
Revista Istorică, 10 i-ii (1999) pp.85-98. [With
abstract in English entitled "Prince Vladislav II of
Wallachia and the 1453 siege of Constantinople".]

- İstanbul
- Eflak

03 TEM 2007

Eflâk

05 KASIM 1991 ilim dalı: T.Tm
madde: Eflak

A. Br. : c. VII, s. 22-23

B. L. : c. VI, s. 3534

F. A. : c. , s.

M. L. : c. IV, s. 85-86

T. A. : c. XIV, s. 371-383

Halîmî, el-Minhâc, c. 2, 213

297.45
HALİM

Eflâk
(Hareketi)

Halîmî, el-Minhâc, c. 2, 213

297.45
HALİM

دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد پنجم، تهران، ۱۳۷۹.

رومنها) نامیده می‌شد (BSE³, IV/252; IA, IV/178). برخی مأخذ ترکی، نام این سرزمین را اولاح آورده‌اند (مراد، ۷۵/۲). در زبان روسی نام این منطقه با تلفظ والاخیا، در فرانسوی والاشی و در انگلیسی والاکیا خوانده می‌شود (BSE³، همانجا؛ نیز نک: رادی، ۱). گفته می‌شود که وُلاخها یا وولوخها از نخستین گروه‌های ساکن این سرزمین بوده‌اند (BSE³، همانجا). اقوام ترک سرزمینهای شمالی از جمله بچناکها (پچنگها) و کومانها (قیچاقها) نام افلاق و مردم آن را به صورتهای قرااولاغ و اولاغ یاد کرده‌اند (نک: رشیدالدین، ۴۸۳/۱، ۷۹۱/۲: IA، همانجا). ابوالفدا این نام را به صورت اولق و اولاق نوشته است (ص ۲، ۶۳، ۲۱۵). برخی بر این گمانند که نام افلاق صورت تحریف شده‌ای از ولاخ یا اولاخ است (نک: سامی، ۱۰۵/۲). در متون عربی این نام گاه به صورت «الفلاخ» نیز آمده است (نک: امین، ۲۱۲/۴).

مشخصات جغرافیایی: افلاق از شمال به بغداد (ترانسیلوانیا)، از شرق به دوبروجا، از غرب به مجارستان و صربستان، و از جنوب به بلغارستان محدود است. رود دانوب در جنوب همانند قوسی این سرزمین را در بر دارد. افلاق صربستان را از بلغارستان و دوبروجا جدا می‌سازد. منطقه افلاق در میان ۴۳° تا ۴۵° و ۴۳° عرض شمالی و نیز ۲۰° تا ۲۵° و ۴۵° طول شرقی واقع است. درازای افلاق را ۴۵۰ و پهنای بخش میانی آن را ۱۸۰ کم نوشته‌اند (سامی، ۱۰۰۴/۲ - ۱۰۰۵). رود اولت^۱، افلاق را به دو بخش شرقی: مونتینیا^۲ (افلاق بزرگ، مرکز آن شهر بخارست) و غربی: اولتینیا^۳ (افلاق کوچک، مرکز آن کرایوا^۴) منقسم کرده است (همانجا؛ BSE³, IV/252; BSE², VI/557؛ «دائرة المعارف جدید...»، II/755, IX/3273). مساحت منطقه مونتینیا ۵۲'۵۰۵ کم^۲، و مساحت اولتینیا ۲۴'۰۷۸ کم^۲، و کل مساحت افلاق ۷۶'۵۸۳ کم^۲ بوده است (همان، BSE³، همانجا؛ قس: سامی، همانجا، که ۷۵'۹۴۰ کم^۲ آورده است).

منطقه شمالی افلاق کوهستانی، و بخشهای میانی و جنوبی آن جلگه‌ای و حاصل خیز است. چند رودخانه از سرزمین افلاق می‌گذرد. زمستانهای افلاق کوتاه، و بهار آن طولانی و خنک است. در گذشته افلاق شامل ۱۸ شهرستان و هر شهرستان شامل بخشهایی چند بود (همانجا). افلاق به همراه دو ایالت بزرگ مولداوی (اردل) و ترانسیلوانیا (بغدان) کشور رومانی را تشکیل می‌دهد. شهر بخارست پایتخت کشور رومانی زمانی شهر مرکزی و تخته‌گاه افلاق بود (IA، همانجا؛ اولیا چلبی، ۳۴/۵). چون در زبان رومانیایی بخارست را بوکورِشتی^۵ می‌نامند (BSE³, IV/163)، در مأخذ عثمانی این نام به صورت «بکرش، بوقره‌ش و بوقریش» آمده است (نک: اولیا چلبی، ۴۶۴/۷، ۴۶۵). به سبب دگرگونیهای تقسیمات کشوری در رومانی، آمار جمعیت افلاق مربوط به گذشته است. افلاق در تقسیمات کشوری

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مأخذ: این ابی اصیبه، احمد، عیون الانباء، به کوشش آوگوست مولر، قاهره، ۱۲۹۹ق/۱۸۸۲م؛ ابن جبلج، سلیمان، طبقات الاطباء و الحکماء، به کوشش فؤاد سید، بیروت، ۱۴۰۵ق/۱۹۸۵م؛ ابن سینا، الشفاء، الهیات، به کوشش قنوتی و سعید زاید، قاهره، ۱۳۸۰ق/۱۹۶۰م؛ ابن ندیم، الفهرست: ابن هندو، علی، الکلم الروحانیة من الحکم الیونانیة، قاهره، ۱۳۱۸ق؛ ابوسلیمان سجستانی، صوان الحکمة، به کوشش عبدالرحمان بدوی، تهران، ۱۹۷۴م؛ «اتولوجیا»، منسوب به افلوطن، افلوطن عندالعرب عبدالرحمان بدوی، کویت، ۱۹۷۷م؛ ارسطو، متافیزیک، ترجمه شرف‌الدین خراسانی (شرف)، تهران، ۱۳۶۶ش؛ افلاطون فی الاسلام، به کوشش عبدالرحمان بدوی، تهران، ۱۳۵۳ش؛ جرجانی، علی، التعریفات، قاهره، ۱۳۰۶ق؛ خراسانی (شرف)، شرف‌الدین، نخستین فیلسوفان یونان، تهران، ۱۳۷۰ش؛ سهروردی، یحیی، «حکمة الاشراق»، مجموعه مصنفات شیخ اشراق، به کوشش هانری کرین، تهران، ۱۳۵۵ش، ج ۲؛ همو، مجموعه فی الحکمة الالهیة، به کوشش هانری کرین، استانبول، ۱۹۴۵م؛ شهرستانی، محمد، الملل و النحل، به کوشش عبدالعزیز محمد وکیل، قاهره، ۱۳۸۷ق/۱۹۶۸م؛ صدرالدین شیرازی، محمد، الاسفار، قم، ۱۳۱۶ق؛ همو، الشواهد الربوبیة، به کوشش جلال‌الدین آشتیانی، مشهد، ۱۳۴۶ش؛ قفطی، علی، تاریخ الحکماء، به کوشش لیرت، لایزیگ، ۱۹۰۳م؛ میشرن فاتک، مختار الحکم و محاسن الکلم، به کوشش عبدالرحمان بدوی، بیروت، ۱۹۸۰م؛ نیز:

Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, id, *Physica*; Berve, H., *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, Mainz, 1956; *The Cambridge Companion to Plato*, ed. R. Kraut, Cambridge, 1999; Corbin, H., *En Islam iranien*, Paris, 1971; Diogenes Laertios, *biōn kai gnōmōn, en philosophiai eudokimēsanton*; Festugière, A. J., «Platon et l'Orient», *Etudes de philosophie grecque*, Paris, 1971; Gaiser, K., *Platons ungeschriebene Lehre*, Stuttgart, 1968; Görgeinmanns, H., *Beiträge zur Interpretation von Platons Nomoi*, München, 1960; Happ, H., *Hyle, Studien zum aristotelischen Materiae- Begriff*, Berlin, 1971; *Idee und Zahl, Studien zur platonischen Philosophie*, Heidelberg, 1968; Justi, F., *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Hildesheim, 1963; Lagerborg, R., *Die Platonische Liebe*, 1926; Levinson, R.B., *In Defence of Plato*, Cambridge, 1953; Marrow, G.R., *Plato's Cretan City*, Princeton, 1960; id, *Plato's Law of Slavery in its Relation to Greek Law*, Urbano, 1939; Marx, K., «Deutsche Ideologie», *Werke*, Berlin, 1962; Pauly, Penner, T., *The Ascent from Nominalism*, Dordrecht, 1978; Plato, *Apologia*; id, «Epistole B», «Epistole Z», *Epistolai*; id, *Euthydēmos*; id, *Euthyphron*; id, *Gorgias*; id, *Kharmidēs*; id, *Kratylos*; id, *Lysis*; id, *Menon*; id, *Nomoi*; id, *Parmēnidēs*; id, *Phaidon*; id, *Phaidros*; id, *Philēbos* id, *Politeia*; id, *Politikos*; id, *Prōtagoras*; id, *Sophistēs*; id, *Symposion*; id, *Theaitētos*; id, *Timaios*; *Plato Arabus*, ed. P. Kraus and R. Welzer, Cairo, 1951; *Platon Politeia*, ed. O. Hoeffe, Berlin, 1997; Popper, K., *The Open Society and its Enemies*, New York, 1963; Riginos, A., *Platonica, the Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato*, Leiden, 1976; Robin, L., *La Théorie platonicienne de l'amour*, Paris, 1964; Rosenthal, R., *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, Cambridge, 1969; id, «On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World», *Islamic Culture*, 1940, vol. XIV.

شرف‌الدین خراسانی (شرف)

افلاق، یا افلاق، نام تاریخی سرزمینی در جنوب رومانی میان رشته کوههای کارپات و رود دانوب.

نام گذاری: این منطقه از دیرباز تاراروماناسکا^۱ (= سرزمین

AKTEN DES VIERUNDZWANZIGSTEN
INTERNATIONALEN ORIENTALISTEN-KONGRESSES
MÜNCHEN

28. AUGUST BIS 4. SEPTEMBER 1957

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
HERBERT FRANKE

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	32517
Tasnif No:	1



1959

DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT e.V.
IN KOMMISSION BEI FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN

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Sektion VIII: Turkologie

İstanbul (Hacı Ahmed kısmı, no. 364) I found a volume covering the year 1734/5, when Köprülüzâde 'Abdullâh Pasha was commander-in-chief on the Persian front.

The importance of the *Mühimme Defteri* is twofold. First, these records have preserved most valuable, authentic information on many historical events, on the relations of the Ottoman Government with foreign countries and, above all, on the demographic, social, economic, political, military, religious, and cultural conditions in all Turkish provinces. Its importance is particularly great for the many districts in which the ancient *mahkeme sicilleri*, the records of the Sharî'a courts, with their copies of firmans addressed to local officials, have been lost.

The decrees registered in the *Mühimme Defteri* usually contain a full summary of the reports or petitions to which they reply. This wealth of very interesting and detailed information has, however, not yet been systematically used for the study of any Ottoman town or district except in Ahmed Refik's collections of decrees relating to İstanbul and a small book by D. SHOPOVA containing documents on Macedonia. I hope to publish soon a larger corpus of decrees referring to Palestine in the 16th and early 17th century.

The Register is also of major importance for the study of Ottoman administration in general. Very much can be learnt from it about the central and provincial government institutions, the extent of authority and power of officials and military officers, the measure of their initiative, efficiency, loyalty, etc. Difficult problems, such as the relationship between the *cadi* and the governor in administering justice, may find an at least partial solution through the study of this material.

Furthermore, because of the Sultan's prerogative to make laws (*qanûn*) the firmans preserved in the *Mühimme Defteri* have a much wider implication than simple administrative orders usually have. They form an indispensable source for the study of Ottoman secular law and its codices, the *Qânûnnâmes*. Finally, the Register is of greatest value for the study of the structure and phraseology of Turkish official documents as well as of the manner in which firmans and other decrees were drafted, written and sent out.

The systematic and scholarly study of the *Mühimme Defteri* presents a number of problems. The most obvious one is, of course, the difficulty of deciphering the texts, mostly written in some form of *divânî qırması*. The decrees in every volume were copied by a great number of different scribes, many of whom wrote very negligently, omitting many, most or even all diacritical marks.

A more serious problem is caused by the numerous technical terms which are used in the decrees and the meaning of which has yet to be established. On the other hand, there hardly is another single source the study of which could contribute so much to the understanding of many Turkish geographical, ethnical, administrative, and military terms, of weights and measures, etc. as the *Mühimme Defteri*.

Sektion VIII: Turkologie

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A great difficulty in making the contents of the Register available to those interested in the history of a certain area of the Empire or in Ottoman administration in general results from the very large number of decrees registered. They may well total over one hundred and fifty or even two hundred thousand, recorded in simple chronological order. This very extensive material, if to be fully exploited, obviously requires some form of cooperative effort by a group of scholars. Such planned cooperation would be much more effective than separate publications of selected decrees by different scholars.

Freitag, 30. August
vormittags

Vorsitz: JULIUS NÉMETH (Budapest)

DECEI, AUREL (İstanbul): *Quelques documents turcs concernant la Valachie au XVI^e siècle*

Les deux pays roumains, la Valachie — Iflak et la Moldavie — Bogdan, se trouvaient dans le dernier quart du XVI^e siècle au point plus bas de l'échelle de vassalité envers la Porte Ottomane.

La situation de la Valachie était pire encore que celle de la Moldavie, de ce point de vue. Comme en Moldavie, et encore plus, l'élection du Prince (Domn) avait commencé à se faire directement à İstanbul à force de payer des sommes extraordinaires aux puissants de la Porte et aux meghistans grecs ou aux financiers levantins qui vivaient à l'ombre du Serail. Il suffit de remémorer que pendant deux ans la Valachie a eu quatre Princes; entre février 1591, quand Mihnea fut destitué et septembre 1593, quand fut élu et nommé Mihai Viteazul, la bourse des Princes de Valachie fut très en hausse à İstanbul. Ilias, le fils de Alexandru Lăpusneanu de Moldavie, avait été nommé comme Prince en Valachie, mais il n'arriva pas à quitter la capitale du Bosphore, car il fut révoqué et remplacé par Radu, le fils de Mircea Ciobanul, qui lui aussi, à son tour, ne vint pas à occuper le trône de Bucarest, puisqu'il fut donné à Stefan Surdul, le fils de Ioan Vodă cel Cumplit de Moldavie. Stefan le Sourd régna effectivement entre mai 1591 et juin 1592, mais il fut si effacé que les Turcs décidèrent de l'effacer totalement.

A sa place fut nommé Alexandru connu dans l'histoire roumaine sous l'appellatif de Alexandru cel Rău, « le Méchant », qui était le fils de Bogdan Lăpusneanu et neveu de Alexandru Lăpusneanu, donc un moldave, lui aussi.

Alexandru cel Rău a régné en Valachie entre le mois de juin 1592 et le mois de septembre 1593.

Le même mois de juin 1592 il avait été déjà nommé dans l'autre pays, en Moldavie, à la place du Prince Aron, qui était son parent d'ailleurs. A cette date, Alexandru se trouvait à İstanbul, où il s'était marié, pour la deuxième

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EFLAK VE BOĞDAN VOYVODALARININ AHİDNÂMELERİ ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME: OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NUN KUZEYBATI HUDUDUNDAKİ HİRİSTİYAN VASSAL ÜLKELERİ

DOÇ. DR. SÁNDOR PAPP
SZEGED ÜNİVERSİTESİ / MACARİSTAN

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, kendi genişlemesi ve fethatı sırasında egemenliği altına giren yeni halkların, medeniyetlerin entegrasyonundan dolayı büyük intibak kabiliyeti gösterdi. Biliyoruz ki, üç kıtaya dağılan büyük İmparatorluk en az üç şekilde idare edilmiş idi. Bunlar arasında klasik bir Osmanlı idare sistemini bilhassa Anadolu'da ve her şeyden evvel Rumeli bölgelerinde yerleştirdiler: Vilayetler ve sancaklar, onların üstündeki beylerbeyleri ve sancakbeyleri ile idareye bağlıydılar.

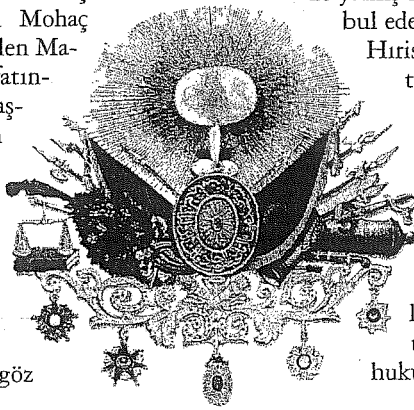
İmparatorluğun şarkî ve garbî hudutlarında, Babîâlî himayesi altına giren, ama iç serbestliğinin bir miktarını koruyan ülkeler (vilayetler) vücuda geldi. Ege Denizi bölgesinde Naksos, Kafkaslar'da Gürcistan'ın bir parçası olan Kartil, Adria Denizi sahilinde Dubrovnik ve daha evvelki dönemlerde Bulgaristan'ın kuzeyinde, Tuna'ya doğru olan bölgede Şişman Vilayeti, bir süre kadar Sırbistan, yukarıda belirttiğim münasebetler üzerine Babîâlî'nin himayesi altına girmişti. Hatta şunu da eklemek gerekir ki, 1526'daki Mohaç mağlubiyetinden ve çok genç yaşta ölen Macar Kralı, II. Layoş Yagello'nun vefatından sonra 1541'e, yani Macaristan başkenti olan Budin Kalesi'nin fethedilmesine kadar Macaristan da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bir vassal ülkesi olarak sayılabilir. Bunlardan gayri çok eski bir İslâm hanedanı olan Girây ailesi hakimiyeti altında yaşayan Kırım'da Osmanlı idaresi altındaydı.

Tarihî bakımdan vassal durumu göz önüne alınınca, her şeyden önce Orta ve Güneydoğu Avrupa bölgesinde

yer alan üç devlet, Boğdan, Eflak ve Erdel ortaya çıkar. Hıristiyan olan ve feodal bir şekilde teşekkül eden her üç devlet, idare sistemlerini Osmanlı hakimiyetinin son selerine kadar koruyabildi ve bununla beraber Osmanlı Devleti'nin birer kısmı oldular.

Eflak ve Boğdan, birbirlerine çok yakın bir medeniyete sahip olmaları nedeniyle Ortodoks (Şarkî) Hıristiyan ve çoğunluktaki Rumen nüfusla, kendilerini eski Bizans'ın son varisi olarak görmekteydiler. Şu bir gerçek ki, Bizans mirasçısı bir devlet olarak sadece, Tuna nehri yanında yaşayan bu iki voyvodalık ayakta kalmıştı. Tabii bir bağlantıyla, eski Konstantiniye, sonra da İstanbul ile irtibatlarını tuttular. Uzun süre Osmanlı idaresi altında yaşadıklarından dolayı iki devlet arasındaki yakınlık, başka yakınlaşmalara da yol açtı. Tarih boyunca dört yüz seneden fazla Osmanlı hakimiyeti altında yaşayan iki Rumen voyvodalığının, modern Romanya'nın yavaş yavaş vücuda gelmesine öncülük ettiğini söylemek herhalde yanlış olmayacaktır. Osmanlı hakimiyetini kabul eden Batı feodalizmine daha yakın üçüncü

Hıristiyan ülke olan Erdel, Osmanlıların Orta Avrupa'da yaptıkları fethatlarla kadar Katolik kilisesine bağlı olan Macar Krallığı'nın bir bölgesi idi ve sadece Birinci Cihan Harbi'ne son veren anlaşmalar (özellikle Macaristan'a ilişkin olan Trianon Anlaşması) sebebiyle Macaristan'dan ayrılıp Romanya'nın bir parçası oldu. Erdel, Osmanlı hakimiyeti döneminin sonuna kadar teorik olarak Macar Krallığı'na yönelik hukukî münasebetlerini de tamamen kesmedi. Erdel voyvodaları, sonradan ise hakim ve kralları, Habsburg Ha-



Osmanlı devlet arması

AHMED RESMÎ EFENDİ'NİN EFLAK COĞRAFYASI*

Cengiz Orhonlu

XVIII. yüzyıl Osmanlı tarihi bol malzemeye sahip olmasına rağmen araştırmacıların az ilgi gösterdiği bir devredir. Oysa ki XVIII. yüz yıl gerek çeşitli konularda yazılmış eserler bakımından, gerekse arşiv malzemesi bakımından gayet zengindir. Bunun belirtilerini coğrafya sahalarında da görmek mümkündür. XVIII. yüzyılın bir diğer özelliği de, Osmanlı-Türk kültürüne yabancı unsurların, yâni batı kültürünün cemiyet içine girmeye başlamasıdır; bu gelişme, gittikçe yoğunlaşarak, aynı yüzyılın sonlarında devletin devamının mümkün olabilmesi için bir nizam-ı cedid hareketine ulaşmıştır.

Türk kütüphanelerinin tasnifleri devam ettikçe çeşitli ilim sahalarına ait yeni eserlerle karşılaşmak mümkün olabiliyor. Bu durumu coğrafya sahasında da görmek mümkündür; coğrafya sahasında evvelce mahdud sanılan eser sayısı, kütüphanelerin tasnifleri ilerledikçe zenginleşmiş ve eserlerin sayıları hakkındaki eski kanaat yavaş yavaş değişmeye başlamıştır.

XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı coğrafyasının iki ekol halinde faaliyet gösterdiği görülmektedir. Birincisi, geleneksel islâm coğrafya telâkkisine ait olan, yâni Ptolemeos (Batlamyos) coğrafyasına bağlı dünyanın kâinatın merkezi olduğuna dayanan ekol. Diğeri, devri için yeni sayılacak olan güneşin kâinatın merkezi olduğuna dayanan Copernic'in ortaya attığı telâkkinin takipçileri. Bununla beraber bu sonuncu coğrafya telâkkisi bir yüzyıla yakın gecikme ile Osmanlı cemiyetinde görünmeye başlamıştı. Bu hususta Şamlı Ebubekir bin Behram'ın coğrafyaya dair bıraktığı çeviri eserin büyük rolü ol-

* 8 Eylül 1974 de Bükreş'te toplanmış olan III. Milletlerarası Güney-Doğu Avrupa Tetkikleri Kongresi'ne sunulmuş bildirinin türkçe metnidir.

Eflac

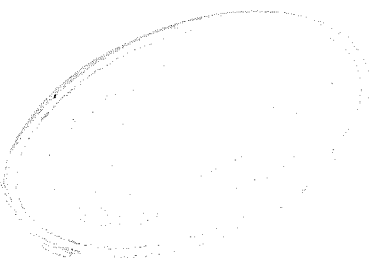
POWER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.
SULTANS AND THE TRIBUTE PAYING PRINCES OF WALLACHIA
AND MOLDAVIA (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)

VIOREL PANAITIE

Süleyman the Magnificent's epoch and new legal sovereignty. In the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, important changes took place in the power relationship in Southeastern and Central Europe, as the Ottoman Empire reached the zenith of its power¹. In 1521, at the beginning of Süleyman the Magnificent's reign, the Ottomans captured the Hungarian city of Belgrade, and five years later, in 1526, the sultan again invaded Hungary and defeated its army at the battle of Mohács. Süleyman I returned to Hungary in 1529 as the supporter of John I Zápolya against the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and after occupation of Buda on 8 September 1529, he drove back the Ferdinand's army into Vienna, having unsuccessfully attempted to besiege the capital of Austria between 26 September-16 October 1529. Due to Polish claims and Habsburgs attacks, at the end of forties, Süleyman Kanunî decided to set definitively the Ottoman control over the territories from the North of the Danube. First, he accomplished this plan by the personal expedition of 1538 against the voivode Petru Rareş of Moldavia, bringing this country under a strict control. In Central Europe, on the pretext of protecting John Sigismund Zápolya's interests – contested by Ferdinand I –, Süleyman the Magnificent then again invaded Hungary in 1541, occupying Buda and incorporating all of central Hungary in his empire. Also, at the same time he transformed Transylvania in a tributary principality, where as a matter of fact John's rule was largely confined to².

¹ For the Süleyman Kanunî's reign, see: *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, Paris, 1993; *Süleymân the Second and his Time*, edited by Halil Inalcık and Cemal Kafadar, The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1993; *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age. The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*. Edited by Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, London and New York, 1995; Gilles Veinstein, "Süleymân I," EI-2, IX, 868-78.

² For details, see: Berindei, Veinstein, *Documents*, 17-46; P. Fodor, *Ottoman Policy towards Hungary, 1520-1541*. AOH, XLV (2-3), 1991, 271-345; Cristina Feneşan, *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, Bucureşti, 1997. R. Constantinescu, *Moldova şi Transilvania în vremea lui Petru Rareş. Relaţii politice şi militare (1527-1546)*. Bucureşti, 1978; Ştefana Simionescu, *Ţările române şi începutul politicii răsăritene antiotomane a Imperiului habsburgic (1526-1594)*. RIL, 28, 8, 1975, 1197-214; Ştefana Simionescu, *Les relations de la Moldavie avec les Habsbourg pendant le règne de Petru Rareş (1527-1538: 1541-1546)*. RRH, XVI, 3, 1977, 463-75.



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Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes,
tome: V, no: 1-2, 1967 (Bucarest), s. 77-86.



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SUR LES CIRCONSTANCES DANS LESQUELLES LES TURCS SONT RESTÉS EN VALACHIE JUSQU'AU DÉBUT DU XVII^e SIÈCLE

ION-RADU MIRCEA

Un des problèmes les plus importants dans les relations de la Valachie avec l'Empire ottoman est celui des « capitulations », convention de vassalité conclue entre les deux pays¹. Bien qu'un pareil document ne soit pas mis à jour, les relations entre la Porte et la Valachie étaient régies par des obligations et des privilèges reconnus par les deux parties. On connaît généralement les obligations militaires et économiques²; mais les privilèges des Principautés ressortent de l'étude des faits; certains sont prouvés par le silence même des sources, tel le cas de l'établissement des Turcs entre les Carpates et le Danube. En échange de certaines conditions (comme le libre paiement du « kharadj » et des autres obligations financières et économiques, une aide militaire — soit en hommes, soit en approvisionnement — des corps expéditionnaires, des interventions diplomatiques au compte du suzerain ottoman auprès des pays chrétiens voisins), le prince jouissait du privilège de gouverner le pays. A quelques exceptions près, jusqu'en 1545, le voïvode de la Valachie était élu par les représentants du « pays ».

En dépit de la création des rayas de Brăila, de Giurgiu et de Turnu, au nord du Danube, dans le cadre de l'Empire ottoman, la Valachie gardait ses propres formes d'existence, son administration, un monde dans lequel les Musulmans étaient tolérés temporairement, dans des communau-

¹ V. la bibliographie de F. C. Nanu, dans la *Condica Tratatelor și a altor legăminte ale României, 1354—1937* [Recueil des traités et d'autres conventions de Roumanie, 1354—1937], tome I, Bucarest, 1939, p. 3, n° 7.

² *Istoria României* [Histoire de la Roumanie], tome II, Bucarest, 1960, III^e partie, premier chapitre: « Le régime de la domination ottomane ».